DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 279 581 SO 017 947

AUTHOR Meier, Ken J.; And Others
TITLE Toward a Better Understanding of Within-School Minority Student Resegregation: A Research Agenda.
PUB DATE Aug 86
NOTE 48p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington, DC, August 28-31, 1986).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Elementary Secondary Education; *Integration Studies; Literature Reviews; Minority Group Children; *Racial Integration; *Research Design; Research Methodology; *School Resegregation; *School Segregation

ABSTRACT

Despite years of litigation the desegregation of United States public schools remains unfinished. Even after court-ordered desegregation, a school district may remain segregated through various practices such as ability grouping and selective discipline of minority children. These second generation discrimination or resegregation practices have an adverse affect on the minority student's chances in life. In spite of the impact of this discrimination, research on this topic is sparse; most of the former studies focus on one or two practices, are anecdotal or in the form of case studies, or summarize previous findings. This paper provides a research design that allows for the comprehensive analysis of within-school minority student resegregation. It is organized into three sections. First, the study is grounded in the resegregation literature and reviews the desegregation/ integration nexus and resegregation manifestations such as ability grouping, tracking, and suspension. The second part of the paper discusses the limitations of previous research and explains how the research design adresses limitations and allows for a better understanding of school resegregation practices and policies. Finally, the implications of the proposed research agenda are discussed. The study builds upon previous research in five ways, by: (1) comprehensiveness; (2) combining the advantages of aggregate and case study research designs; (3) its approach, philosophically neutral and systematic; (4) the development of a theoretically specified model; and (5) presenting a guide designed to combat resegregation. The three-stage research design will allow for a comprehensive, systematic analysis of resegregation practices and policies. First, types of resegregation practices are isolated and monitored over time and by race of students. Second, a model of factors affecting resegregation is posited and tested. The last stage involves on-site school district visits. Implications of the proposed research agenda are discussed. (APG)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED279581

TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WITHIN-SCHOOL MINORITY STUDENT RESEGREGATION: A RESEARCH AGENDA

Kenneth J. Meier
Dept. of Political Science
University of Wisconsin
Madison, WI 53706

Robert E. England
Dept. of Political Science
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, OK 74078

and

Luis R. Fraga
Dept. of Government
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, IN 46556

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Luis Ricardo Fraga

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 28-31, 1986, Washington, D.C.

CS010747

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WITHIN-SCHOOL MINORITY STUDENT RESEGREGATION: A RESEARCH AGENDA

Introduction

Despite years of litigation (see Read, 1977; Gottron, 1979), scores of court-and HEW-imposed desegregation mandates (see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977: Chap. 2; 1979: Chap. 4), and experimentation with a plethora of strategies to implement desegregation decrees (e.g., pairing, magnet schools, rezoning, busing; see Hughes et al., 1980; Morgan and England, 1982), the desegregation of American public schools remains an unfinished task. Yes, progress has been made. For the most part dual school systems in the South have been dismantled, and in many school districts the proportion of white and minority students attending local schools reflects their numbers in the general population. But have these desegregation efforts resulted in equal educational opportunities? Many desegregation scholars suggest not.

Levin and Moise (1975:52), for example, argue that "a school system may in some respects remain segregated even after a court-ordered desegregation plan has been fully implemented. Through various practices such as ability grouping and the selective use of disciplinary measures, minority children may continue to receive different and

apparently unequal treatment." These resegregative or "second generation" school discrimination practices, as they are often labeled, have been called "the most invidious kinds of racial discrimination" (Rodgers and Bullock, 1972:69), not only because they "keep schools segregated or resegregate them" (Smith and Dziuban, 1977:52), but also because they can have an adverse effect on a minority student's life chances, "a child's future ability as an adult to participate fully in the social, economic, and political life of society" (Levin, 1975:217).

In spite of the impact that second generation school discrimination can have at both the macro (school system) and micro (student) levels, systematic research on the topic is sparse. Rather, much of the research: (1) is in the form of case studies (e.g., Rosenbaum, 1976; Metz, 1978); (2) focuses on one or perhaps two resegregation practices, usually a form of discipline or ability grouping (see Arnez, 1978; Children's Defense Fund, 1974); (3) is anecdotal in nature (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977); and/or (4) summaries previous findings (Eyler, Cook, and Ward, 1983). In addition, while a few studies systematically measure the incidence of resegregation, analyses are based on cross-sectional research designs and focus almost exclusively on black students (see Bullock and Stewart, 1979; Meier and England, 1984).

The purpose of this paper is relatively straightforward. After several years of in-depth study we have developed a

research design that allows for the first comprehensive analysis of within-school minority student resegregation. Before embarking on the research agenda, discussion and critique of the research design should prove beneficial. The paper is organized into three sections. First, the study is grounded in the resegregation literature. Second, the limitations of previous research are discussed and a detailed research design that both addresses these limitations as well as allows for a better understanding of school resegregation practices and policies is presented. Finally, the implications of the proposed research agenda are discussed.

OVERVIEW OF RESEGREGATION LITERATURE

The Desegregation/Integration Nexus

Thirty years have passed since the Supreme Court's landmark decision in Brown v. Board of Education (1954). In brief, the Court ruled that de jure school segregation policies were unconstitutional, and one year later in Brown II, local school officials were ordered to desegregate public schools with all deliberate speed. As with any policy, implementation and compliance are required before the intent of a policy becomes a reality.

Efforts to effectuate the Court's decision in Brown are well documented (see Kluger, 1975; Yudof, 1981). In brief, the desegregation mandate was not perceived by many as

legitimate exercise of judicial power. Often, reaction was characterized by obstruction, delay, and even massive resistance. While school officials were "coerced into complying" (Rodgers and Bullock, 1976) with the letter of the law--to desegregate--many school officials failed to comply with the spirit of the law--to integrate.

The term desegregation and integration are related; they are not, however, synonymous. Desegregation is often viewed as a mechanical process, a process that requires mixing students of different races in response to desegregation mandate. Integration cannot be court mandated; it is a social process (Hughes et al., 1980:1), a condition in which minority students are accepted and treated on a completely equal basis (Pettigrew, 1971). Thus the desegregation-integration nexus is based on the idea that "racial prejudice can be reduced in desegregated schools by bringing students together under conditions of equal status that emphasize common goals and de-emphasize individual and group competition" (McConahay, 1981:35). McConahay (1981:35) notes, however that "these conditions may never have been implemented in their entirety in any desegregated school to this date."

Other desegregation researchers are even more pessimistic about the outcomes of desegregation efforts. Rodgers and Bullock (1972) argue that in many school districts, overt de jure discrimination was succeeded by second generation discrimination practices such as racially

biased minority employment practices. Smith and Dziuban (1977:52,54) contend that the desegregation process "was and is being circumvented by the institutionalization of organizational, administrative, and instructional [discrimination] practices" such as systematic assignment of black children into vocational tracks. Finally, Bell (1980: viii), after reflecting on years of effort to implement Brown, states: "Even where desegregation has occurred, there are serious problems of resegregation and of continuing discrimination. Black students are stuck in dead-end courses and classes. Far larger numbers of black than white children are suspended and expelled."

Although these statements are rather harsh indictments of the outcomes of desegregation efforts, it is important to note that the resegregation Bell refers to may or may not be due to racial discrimination per se. Eyler, Cook, and Ward (1983:122-128), for example, assert that practices such as tracking and ability grouping were employed by school officials long before the advent of school desegregation. The use of these practices can be explained in three ways. First, they represent a traditional response to manage diversity. The assumption is that "resegregation is necessary in order for each child to attain the highest level of achievement" (Eyler et al., 1983:127). Second, resegregation may occur due to cross pressures of public policies. On the one hand, courts or HEW officials mandate desegregation. On the other hand, compensatory educational

policies such as bilingual education, special education, or programs for economically and educationally disadvantaged children may result in student "pullout" from regular classrooms. This pullout results in resegregation.

Third, according to Eyler and her associates (1983:128), resegregative practices may reflect "racism or the inability of individuals within the school system to deal with cultural differences in a sensitive way." Thus placement of students in ability groups or vocational tracks may be based on the race of the student and/or preconceived ideas about the abilities of minority group students (see Ryan, 1976: Chap. 3). Regardless of the motive for resegregative practices, the fact remains that within-school resegregation may result in educational inequities. Such inequities merit closer examination.

Resegregation Manifestations

Ability Grouping and Tracking

Ability grouping and tracking are common educational policies. In general, ability grouping refers to the assignment of students to either different classes or within-class grouping of students on the basis of intellectual abilities. Examples of ability grouping include assignments to educable mentally retarded (EMR) classes or gifted/enriched programs. In contrast, tracking or curriculum grouping is based on the occupational aspirations

of students. Vocational and college entrance tracks are two examples of curriculum tracking (see Schafer and Olexa, 1971).

Regardless of the distinctions, ability grouping and tracking share two important characteristics with respect to school desegregation/integration. First, students are grouped with those similar to themselves and separated from those who are different. Second, grouping is based, at least in part, on a ranked criterion--ability or postschool plans (college is considered superior to jobs); thus the groups are unequal in status (Rosenbaum, 1976:6). These characteristics are, of course, the antithesis of the goals of integration (i.e., equal status). Accordingly, many desegregation scholars are critical of ability grouping and tracking. Epps (1981:103) asserts: "Desegregation must be complete. It must be carried out at the classroom level. Students must not be resegregated through tracking. Even ability grouping within classrooms must be eliminated if the goal of desegregation, equality of educational opportunities for all pupils, is to be realized" (see also Smith and Dziuban, 1977: 54; McConahay, 1981:47; Hawley, 1981:299).

Although Epps's sentiments are normative in nature, empirical research also finds few benefits for ability grouping. "Findings are almost uniformly unfavorable with regard to its use in promoting scholastic achievement in low ability groups; and are inconclusive in its use for high ability groups" (U.S.Commission on Civil Rights, 1976:129). Other research details a series of negative second-order

consequences. The use of ability grouping and tracking may have a negative effect on the self-esteem of minority students; produce resentment among racial groups; contribute to rebelliousness, delinquency, and school dropouts; and result in inferior education due to low expectations on the part of teachers (Schafer and Olexa, 1971; Rosenbaum, 1976; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Perhaps as important with respect to school desegregation efforts, "ability groups tend to be racially segregated with minorities assigned to lower levels. . . . High school tracking practices lead to extensive resegregation with minority students disproportionately overrepresented in vocational or general tracks and an underrepresentation in college preparatory tracks" (Eyler et al., 1981:221,224). In short, ability grouping and tracking can result in racial separation in public schools and negate the effects of a well-formulated, well-implemented desegregation plan.

Suspensions

Racially biased disciplinary practices represent another potential type of second generation discrimination. According to Yudof (1975:378), "The fact is that in many desegregated school systems blacks are excluded from the schools far more often than whites. Many of these who are suspended once find themselves suspended again and again." These suspensions may in turn lead to a decision by the black student to withdraw from school.

Empirical support for Yudof's contentions are found in the literature; " a clear pattern of race disproportions in suspensions has been extensively documented" (Eyler et al., 1981:294). Based on an analysis of its 1973 school desegregation survey, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare found, "the frequency of expulsions and suspensions of black, Spanish-surnamed, Asian Americans, and native American-Indian students is nearly twice that of white students. The average length of suspensions is nearly a day more for a minority student than for a white student" (HEW as quoted in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976:142). Similar findings are reported by Arnez (1978) and Kaeser (1979).

In its report, Children Out of School in America, the Children's Defense Fund (1974:130) states: "it is a sad but true fact that suspensions are sometimes a mere pretense for punishing a child for other reasons. This is particularly true for minority children in many schools throughout America." Not only does this report support other studies with respect to the disproportionate suspensions suffered by minority students, but it also finds that blacks students were more likely to be suspended more than once. This report as well as other research (see Eyler et al., 1981:301) reveals that high suspension rates and high dropout rates go hand in hand. Variations in discipline, therefore, contribute to resegregation of schools by encouraging black students to drop out.

Summary

Resegregation practices have been labeled "pernicious" (Smith and Dziuban, 1977:54) and "invidious" (Rodgers and Bullock, 1972:69). They can lead to the resegregation of desegregated schools (Hochschild, 1984:83); are antithetical to the school integration process (Rosenbaum, 1976:6); deprive minority students of valuable role models (Adair, 1984:14); result in the expulsion of minority students (Children's Defense Fund, 1974); create "caste systems" within schools based on race or ethnic heritage (Ogbu, 1978); and, in general, deny students of equal educational opportunities (Levin, 1975). Evidence of the practice of resegregation is ample. But much of this evidence is narrowly focused and atheoretical. The following section provides a detailed outline of a research design that allows for a more complete understanding of school resegregation.

TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF RESEGREGATION: A RESEARCH AGENDA

In order to provide a more complete understanding of school resegregation policies and practices, a research agenda must accomplish two tasks. First, it must address limitations found in previous research. Second, the research design employed must allow for a comprehensive, systematic analysis of resegregation. Discussion of each task follows.

Relationship of Proposed Study to Previous Research

Our proposed study addresses the limitations of previous research in five important ways. First, the research effort is comprehensive in scope. Previous studies focusing on school resegregation generally follow one of two approaches. They provide an overview of resegregation practices without presenting data, these studies are generally anecdotal, case studies, or literature reviews. Or, they measure the incidence of a single (sometimes two) manifestation of so-called second generation discrimination, usually focusing on disparities in black enrollments in educable mentally retarded classes or suspension ratios. In contrast, our data allow us to identify broad "types" of resegregation practices (e.g., ability grouping, discipline, life chances, and representative bureaucracy) as well as eleven within-type specific indicators. For instance, the ability grouping type of resegregation strategies includes the indicators of student enrollments in gifted/talented, educable mentally retarded, trainable mentally retarded, learning disabled, and serious emotionally disturbed classes. The comprehensive scope of the study is further facilitated since the incidence of resegregation is measured over time. Instead of measuring resegregation in a static fashion, we employ a time-series mean score to correct for yearly fluctuations and trends. Finally, unlike most studies that investigate resegregation

as it affects black students, the data allow for the examination of both black and Hispanic students.

A second major feature of the study is related to its research design. Most studies of resegregation use either an aggregate, comparative approach involving a large number of school districts or have taken the form of case studies. Both of these approaches provide essential information; either one without the other omits vital facts. An aggregate analysis, while easily generalized to many districts, always leaves unexplained variation. It cannot take account of the unique or unusual conditions found in almost every school district. Case studies tap these unique conditions, but normally cannot be generalized to other locations. Our study will combine both techniques to gain the advantage of each. First, an aggregate model of the forces affecting the resegregation of black and Hispanic students is tested. based on the findings emerging from the aggregate analysis, eight school districts will be selected for further in-depth study. These eight cases will be chosen by identifying school districts that are most deviant from their predicted levels of resegregation (see below).

A third advantage of the study is its approach. The study is nonideological and measures resegregation in a systematic fashion. A survey of the literature on the topic leaves one with the feeling that resegregation is pervasive, ubiquitous, and the result of overt discriminatory practices. The term second generation discrimination itself is a

"loaded" phrase. Yes, there is ample evidence of resegregation in American public schools, but empirically the literature is weak and over-generalized. To assume, for example, that all forms of ability grouping result in equal amounts of resegregation based on findings concerning black placements in educable mentally retarded classes is faulty generalization. Or, to assume that Hispanic students suffer from disproportionate placements in ability grouping classes simply because black students do, is also tenuous speculation. Resegregation, or if one prefers to use the more common term second generation school discrimination, can be measured across numerous indicators and by race. We attempt to remove any type of "ideological blinders" to the examination of resegregation by: (1) explicitly noting that the causes of resegregation are multiple, complex, and probably interrelated; (2) systematically measuring the incidence of resegregation using easily interrupted representation ratios; and (3) employing the 20 percent over-representation resegregation criterion used under the Emergency School Assistanc Act as a benchmark to evaluate the intensity of resegregation (i.e., the presence of second generation discrimination).

The fourth departure from previous research is the attempt to develop a model of factors facilitating and constraining resegregation. Much of prior research is theoretically barren. Little effort is made either to suggest reasons (other than discrimination) for resegregation

or to model influences. Our model assumes that resegregation is a function of school district socioeconomic contexts, political representation, and school district characteristics (see below).

Finally, in contrast to the almost schism in previous research existing between studies that discuss or measure the incidence of resegregation and those that present mitigating strategies, our proposed study will do both. In other words, we systematically measure the incidence of resegregation, attempt to explain the phenomenon, and drawing upon our in-depth case studies of eight school districts present strategies for combatting resegregation.

Preliminary analysis of our data is promising with respect to addressing the foregoing limitations. For example, data suggest considerable variation in the extent of resegregation across types of indicators as well as by race (see England, Meier, & Fraga, 1986). From a theoretical perspective, early modelling efforts intimate that minority school board representation may affect resegregation levels as its impact filters through educational hiring practices (see Meier and England, 1984; Fraga, Meier, and England, 1986).

In sum, the proposed study builds upon previous research in five ways: comprehensiveness; by combining the advantages of aggregate and case study research designs; its approach--philosophically neutral and systematic; through the development and testing of a theoretically-specified model; and by

offering policy makers a guide to strategies to combat resegregation. Attention now turns to our research design.

Research Design

The second task in route to a more complete understanding of school resegregation is the development of a research design that will allow for a comprehensive, systematic analysis of resegregation practices and policies. A three-stage research design has been developed for this purpose. First, types of resegregation practices are isolated and their incidence is measured over time and by race of students. Second, using the data generated in stage one as dependent variables, a model of factors affecting resegregation is posited and tested. This stage of the project requires aggregate data analysis and predicting resegregation scores. The third stage of research involves on-site school district visits. These visits will allow us to gather information about what strategies work (or do not work) to combat resegregation. School districts chosen for investigation will be selected based on stage two prediction efforts. The remainder of this section discusses in detail each stage of the research design.

Stage One: The Incidence of Resegregation

Despite the limited focus of previous studies, the

resegregation of students comes in many as well as various forms. In addition to the more traditional measurement of minority student placement in educable mentally retarded classes (EMR) and majority/minority student suspension ratios, in stage one we will isolate and measure the incidence of nine other resegregation practices.

The data used to measure the incidence of resegregation was secured from the Office of Civil Rights (OCR). In essence, the database is a time series collection of information gathered through Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Surveys. These surveys were initially designed to aid OCR officials in their enforcement of the anti-discrimination provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Data, for example are provided for (1) minority children placed in special education classes; (2) disciplinary practices as they relate to minorities; and (3) full-time professional school staff by race. The time series database contains eleven time points, 1968-1973 annual surveys (6 years) and 1974-1982 biennial surveys (5 years).

In order to measure the incidence of resegregation across a large number of school districts, two steps were followed. First, eleven specific resegregation indicators were chosen and the number of time points data were available for each was determined. Second, each indicator was converted to a "representation" ratio. For example, for students assigned to educable mentally retarded (EMR) classes, the ratio is the proportion of black students in EMR

classes divided by the proportion of black students in the school district. Ratio measures for Hispanic, black, and white students were calculated for each indicator.

The representation ratios are similar in nature to the one used in a number of studies to assess city council/school board representational equity (see Robinson and Dye, 1978; Robinson and England, 1981). The ratio measure has theoretical and practical implication. If the ratio equals 1.0, then black, Hispanic, or white students are assigned to EMR classes in exact proportion to their numbers in the school district. When any of these school population subgroups are placed in proportionately fewer EMR classes, the ratio is less than one. Conversely, if they are assigned to more EMR classes than their student proportions warrant, the ratio is greater than one. Thus, from a theoretical perspective, ratios are based on the concept of equity. From a practical perspective, under Emergency School Assistance Act regulations more than 20 percent overrepresentation of minority children in EMR classes or in suspensions created a presumption of discrimination (Hochshild, 1984:31). Table 1 provides a summary of: (1) our eleven resegregation indicators that will be used in the study; (2) a brief description of each indicator; (3) years data are available; and (4) how the representation ratios are calculated.

Table 1 About Here

The second step of this stage of the research effort involves drawing two samples from the larger OCR dataset, one for blacks and one for Hispanics. The parameters for each sample are similar. For the black student sample, school district inclusion criteria include:

(A) Participation in Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Surveys (i.e., the availability of OCR data);

(B) A 5 percent minimum and 49 percent maximum black student enrollment;

(C) Total school enrollment must be greater than 15,000 students; and

(D) Participation of school district superintendent in "political representation" survey (see below).

In total, the population of U.S. school districts meeting criteria A, B, and C above is 313. To date, we have received responses from approximately 200 of the 313 school superintendents in the districts. We expect our final analysis to be based on about 200-225 school districts.

The Hispanic student sample case inclusion criteria are the same as for the black sample, except:

(A) Since Hispanic students tend to be more geographically concentrated, a Hispanic "School Superintendent" oversample was administered.

(B) The oversample includes all U.S. school districts with a 5,000 total student enrollment and a minimum of 5 percent Hispanic enrollment.

A total of 171 school districts meet these criteria. The total number of school districts in the Hispanic student sample should be approximately 200 (drawn from the 313 black sample and the 171 Hispanic oversample).

The justification for two separate samples for analysis purposes is relatively straightforward. The history and issues associated with Hispanic school desegregation are different than those for blacks. For example, de jure segregation of Hispanic students was outlawed in the late 1940's when federal courts ruled Hispanics were "whites" (San Miguel, 1982:708). Compensatory educational programs in the area of bilingual classes has been a concern of the Hispanic community (Fernandez and Guskin, 1981). Also, little is known about the dynamics of resegregation in schools that are highly multiracial, multiethnic.

In sum, we have a time-series database that to date has not been systematically analyzed. The ratio measures we have created are easily interpreted and are similar to those used in other studies. The data allow for a comprehensive examination of resegregation: (1) across a large number of indicators; (2) over time; (3) by race; and (4) for two samples of about two hundred school districts each.

Stage Two: Explaining Resegregation

Resegregation is clearly an impediment to effective school desegregation, and systematic efforts to explain its presence are sparse (for exceptions see Bullock and Stewart

1979; England and Meier, 1985; Fraga, Meier and England, 1986). Nevertheless, previous literature as well as our own in-depth study of the issue suggests that school resegregation is a function of three general types of influences: (1) school district political and socioeconomic contexts, (2) political representation, and (3) school district characteristics. More specifically, our proposed model of environmental influence and specific indicators affecting within-school resegregation is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 About Here

As Figure 1 shows, each cluster of variables is hypothesized to have an independent impact on school resegregation. In addition, school district political and socioeconomic contexts (Cluster One) and school district characteristics (Cluster Two) have an indirect effect on resegregation as they filter through political representation. Finally, political representation is indirectly related to minority access to educational bureaucracies which in turn constrains resegregation practices.

A disparate and disjointed literature lends some support to this model, but only through empirical analysis can the linkages be tested. Attention now turns to a discussion of each cluster of variables and proposed relationships to school resegregation.

School District Political and Socioeconomic Contexts. Five variables are included in this cluster--region, electoral structure, black resources, Hispanic resources, and district poverty. Much as been written about region and its impact on public policy in general (see Elazar, 1984) and school desegregation specifically (see England and Morgan, 1986). Southern school districts were the initial targets of school desegregation court orders and HEW enforcement efforts. The response by southern school officials was often characterized by overt resistance (see Kluger, 1975). Since resegregation is one way school officials can maintain the status quo in schools despite desegregation efforts, resegregation levels should be higher in southern than in northern school districts.

The electoral structure (e.g., at-large, mixed, ward) a district employs to select representatives may also affect resegregation. Previous research has demonstrated a strong and consistent linkage between electoral structure and minority representation on city councils (see Robinson and Dye, 1978) and school boards (see Robinson and England, 1981). In brief, at-large elections impede minorities from capturing school board seats. In contrast, minorities gain more equitable representation under ward, mixed, or appointive systems (see Meier and England, 1984). Thus, the impact of a school district's selection plan indirectly influences resegregation via minority representation on school boards (see below for further discussion of the impact

of representation on resegregation), and at-large elections are positively associated with higher levels of resegregation.

Black and Hispanic resources are socioeconomic variables that not only affect resegregation directly (see Fraga, Meier, and England, 1986), but also indirectly through political representation (see Robinson, England, and Meier, 1985). Two potential resource measures are used in the present study, education and income (on the importance of education see Sigelman and Karnig, 1977). Following the lead of Karnig, (1979), ratios that compare black/Hispanic median education and median income to the white community will be calculated.

These two measures not only reflect the relative potential resources of the black, Hispanic, and white communities, but they also reflect the potential social differences among the groups. Giles and Evans (1985; forthcoming) have argued if a minority is similar to the majority, the majority will be less threatened by the demands of the minority and more likely to grant the minority access to majority institutions. Giles and Evans (forthcoming) contend that discrimination is less likely against middle class blacks than against lower class blacks because middle class blacks share many of the values of middle class whites. They imply that class has much to do with discrimination. Feagin (1980) presents a similar argument.

The argument of Giles, Evans, and Feagin is applicable

to both blacks and Hispanics. For example, Hispanics, especially those who physically resemble whites, can be assimilated into Anglo institutions easier than blacks because they may be able to "pass" for Anglos. Hispanic students with higher incomes and from families with high education levels, under the Giles-Evans-Feagin hypothesis, are less likely to be perceived as a threat to the white community. We hypothesize, therefore, that the higher the ratio of black/Hispanic income and education to white income and education, the lower the resistance of the white community and the education establishment to equal treatment for black and Hispanic students. In sum, black and Hispanic resources should be negatively associated with the incidence of resegregation but positively associated with minority school board representation.

The final school district political and socioeconomic variable is district poverty and is also related to the Giles-Evans-Feagin power thesis. If the school district as a whole is fairly wealthy and the black/Hispanic community is fairly poor, then the standardized tests used to classify students will racially differentiate between whites and blacks and Hispanics. In these communities, tests may also be accorded more legitimacy. In combination the tests provide teachers and administrators with "objective" reasons for separating minority students from whites.

If the school district itself, however, has a large proportion of poor whites, then use of such standardized

criteria will funnel a great many white students into similar programs. If discrimination is an explanation for the differences in minority educational equity, then we would expect such measures as special education to be used less for blacks and Hispanics when the district poverty level for whites is high.

School District Characteristics. The second cluster of potential influences on resegregation is collectively referred to as school district characteristics and includes school size, type of district, level of segregation in the district, and percent minority enrollment. Each of these variables has been significantly linked to school desegregation success, or lack thereof (see England and Morgan, 1986). For example, since districts that are county-wide in area tend to experience less white student outmigration then do city-wide districts, desegregation success may be enhanced (see Hawley, et al., 1981; U.S. Commisssion on Civil Rights, 1977). In addition, Dye (1968) and Farley (1975) have found that large proportions of black students impede desegregation success, and Giles (1975) and Fitzgerald and Morgan (1977) suggest that large districts (based on enrollment) experience less success in reducing racial isolation than do smaller ones.

Resegregation can be viewed as an outcome of desegregation efforts. Factors affecting the desegregation process thus have the potential of impinging upon resegregative practices. To our knowledge, to date no one has

systematically assessed the impact of these school district characteristics on within-school resegregation. For purposes here each variable in cluster two is hypothesized to affect resegregation accordingly:

(1) Size of district: Schools with larger enrollments are more likely to have heterogeneous school populations. This in turn will increase demands for minority representation on school boards and integrated school faculties. On the other hand, school diversity facilitates other forms of resegregation practices (see Eyler, Cook, and Ward, 1983).

(2) Type of district: Since desegregation success is greater in countywide districts and since resegregation may be a response to forced desegregation (Rodgers and Bullock, 1972), county-wide districts should be positively associated with higher levels of resegregation. No hypothesized relationship is poisted between countywide districts and minority political representation.

(3) Level of segregation: If the level of segregation between schools is high, the need for racially-motivated within-school resegregative practices should decline. Thus, district segregation is negatively associated with resegregation.

(4) Percent minority enrollment: In accordance with the

Giles-Evan thesis, if the minority enrollment is high, whites may feel threatened. A high proportion of minority students in a school system should be positively associated with resegregation. Also, similar to size of school district (total school enrollment), as the percentage of minority students increase, black representation will increase and the presence of minority staff will increase.

These proposed relationships, while based to some extent on previous research, are exploratory. They, however, can be tested and may prove to enhance our understanding of the dynamics of within-school resegregation.

Political Representation: As Kuklinski (1979:21) so aptly reminds us, "Few concerns, if any, have as hallowed a tradition in political science as the linkage between the few who represent and the many who are represented." Although black representation in political institutions has been well studied, similar research on Hispanics is meager. Representation in most studies generally is defined in simple descriptive terms; a group is "adequately represented" if that group's percentage composition of the city council, bureaucracy, or other institution is the same as its population percentage. By this definition, blacks are underrepresented on city councils (Robinson and Dye, 1978; Karnig, 1976) and overrepresented on central city school boards (Welch and Karnig, 1978; Robinson and England, 1981).

Representation levels for Hispanics are generally lower than those for blacks. Both Taebel (1978) and Karnig and Welch (1979) find that Hispanics hold approximately 44 percent of the city council seats that would be expected given their population percentage. Welch and Hibbing (1984) found an even lower level of Hispanic representation in the U.S. Congress. Most minority representation studies rely solely on this proportionality view of representation, a view that Pitkin (1967) calls descriptive representation (for exceptions see Meier and England, 1984; Welch and Hibbing, 1984; Harmel, Hamm and Thompson, 1983; Bullock and MacManus, 1981). Proportionality is essentially a passive form of representation because someone is considered representative merely by being something (black, Hispanic, white) rather than by doing something. Pitkin argues that representation should be viewed as an activity, as "acting in the interests of the represented."

Our research offers some evidence that minority political representation goes beyond symbolic purposes; it affects public policy. More specifically, black and Hispanic representation on school boards may have a direct effect on resegregation levels; the higher the black representation, the lower the incidence of resegregation in schools. Similarly black representation is significantly linked to greater access of minorities to the educational bureaucracy which in turn attenuates resegregation (see Meier and England, 1984).

In order to gather information about minority representation on school boards, a survey instrument has been developed and mailed to school superintendents in all districts above 15,000 enrollment (N=313). To increase the number of districts that contain a sizeable Hispanic enrollment, a Hispanic oversample was also drawn (N=171).

Resegregation Indicators. Table 1 presented earlier listed the 11 resegregation indicators used as dependent variables in the study. Each indicator, as discussed above, is expressed in terms of white/black or white/Hispanic "representation ratios." Two additional points of information concerning the dependent variables warrant elaboration. First, the representative bureaucracy indicators serve as both dependent and independent variables (see Figure 1). Second, in addition to the eleven resegregation indicators, for purposes of choosing districts to be included for in-depth study a composite resegregation indicator will be operationalized through factor analytic techniques (see below).

Stage Two Data, Methods, and Analysis. The data used to operationalize the influences affecting resegregation will be drawn from divergent sources. Table 2 lists the variables in the study, their operationalization, and source. Regression analysis will serve as the primary estimating statistical procedure. Analysis will be based on two separate samples, one for blacks and one for Hispanics. Finally, the proposed

relationships of the indicators used in the study are summarized in Table 3.

Tables 2 and 3 About Here

Stage Three: Resegregation and Mitigating Strategies

Despite the more complete understanding of resegregation as a process we hope to offer in stages one and two of the research project, a priori we know that our modelling effort is under-specified and the estimating procedure will be short of unity (i.e., less than 100% explained variation). Specific with-school policies and practices that either facilitate or constrain resegregation are not included in the model. Ommission of these policies are justified since little is known about resegregation mitigating strategies. Yes, previous studies suggest in-school alternatives to suspensions; (Williams, 1979) or advocate the "mainstreaming" of minority children (see Jones, 1976). But, the question still remains, what strategies work (or do not work) to impede resegregation when other influences are held constant? Regression analysis allows for such an analysis.

Stage three of our proposed research agenda entails travelling to districts to do on-site, in-depth case studies of personnel, ability grouping, and disciplinary practices. The purpose of the case studies is to understand why some school districts, despite the presence of the same facilitating and constraining influences found in other

districts, are deviant. Eight schools will be selected for analysis, four cities from our Hispanic school district sample and four from our black school district sample. Within each block of four districts, two schools that are outliers on both sides of the regression line will be chosen. That is from the approximate 200 school systems in our black sample, we will select two schools where resegregation levels are much higher than one would predict based on the factors presented in Figure 1, and two districts where resegregation is much lower than predicted. The four schools from our Hispanic sample will be chosen using the same procedure.

One might argue that only the positive should be analyzed, schools where resegregation is less a problem than one would predict. Such an analysis may, however, be biased. For example, let`s say schools X and Y both use peer counselling as an alternative to suspensions, but district X and Y still vary considerably in black/white suspension ratios. Based on an analysis of only school X (low black/white suspension ratio), one might assume that peer counselling is an effective mitigating resegregation strategy. But, by travelling also to district Y (high black/white suspension ratio) we find that peer counselling is not effective when peer groups are not racially-mixed. Both types of information are helpful in developing guidelines for policy makers.

The specific criteria to be used for school district case study inclusion are:

(1) Predicted resegregation scores (above and below the line) resulting from the regression of a composite measure of resegregation on relevent influencing factors determined in the modelling phase (stage two) of the project.

(2) A new variable (when applicable) for each district will be created as a control variable. The new variable will be a resegregative change measure. Thus, if district X and Y are both deviant and district X reduced resegregation by 30 percent and district Y by 20 percent, district X will be selected (the greatest change). Similarly, if resegregation scores increase over time in district A by 10 percent and district B by 20 percent, district B will be chosen.

(3) Finally, unlike the multiple dependent variables employed in stage two the project (10 for blacks and 10 for Hispanics), a composite resegregation variable will be created through factor analysis techniques. Our own research has shown the utility and validity of using such a composite measure (see Meier and England, 1984).

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH AGENDA

The purpose of this paper was to present a research agenda for the study of within-school resegregation. This agenda addresses the limitations of previous research on the topic and includes a detailed plan of study--i.e., research design. The proposed research design facilitates the comprehensive, systematic analysis of school resegregation policies and practices.

We recently secured all data needed to test our model of resegregation. Prior to the start of data analysis, however, we seek review of and comment on our proposed research design.

REFERENCES

Adair, Alvis V. (1984) Desegregation: The Illusion of Black Progress. New York: University Press of America.

Arnez, Nancy L. (1978) "Implementation of desegregation as a discriminatory process." Journal of Negro Education 47(Winter): 28-45.

Bell, Derrick (1980) "A model desegregation plan," pp. 124-139 in Derrick Bell (ed.) Shades of Brown: New Perspectives on School Desegregation. New York: Teachers College Columbia University.

Bullock, Charles S. and Susan A. MacManus (1981) "Policy responsiveness to the black electorate." American Politics Quarterly 9(July): 357-68.

Bullock, Charles S. and Joseph Stewart (1979) "Incidence and correlates of second-generation discrimination," pp.115-129 in Marian L. Palley and Michael B. Preston (eds.) Race, Sex, and Policy Problems. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Children's Defense Fund (1977) The Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey: 'Bureaucratic Balderdash' or the Cornerstone of Civil Rights Compliance in Public Schools? Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc.

Children's Defense Fund (1974) Children Out of School in America. Washington: Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc.

Dye, Thomas R. (1968) "Urban school desegregation: A comparative analysis." Urban Affairs Quarterly 4(December): 141-166.

Elazar, Daniel J. (1984) American Federalism: A View From the States, 3rd ed. New York, N.Y.: Harper and Row.

England, Robert E. and David R. Morgan (1986) Desegregating Big City Schools: Strategies, Outcomes, and Impacts. New York, N.Y.: Associated Faculty Press, forthcoming.

England, Robert E. and Kenneth J. Meier (1985) "From desegregation to integration: Second generation discrimination as an institutional impediment." American Politics Quarterly 13(April): 227-247.

England, Robert E., Kenneth J. Meier, and Luis R. Fraga (1986) "Second generation school discrimination: A longitudinal analysis." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Association, March 19-22, San Antonio, Texas.

Epps, Edgar G. (1981) "Minority children: Desegregation, self-evaluation, and achievement orientation," pp. 85-106 in Willis D. Hawley (ed.) Effective School Desegregation: Equity, Quality, and Feasibility. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Eyler, Janet, Valerie J. Cook, and Leslie E. Ward (1983) "Resegregation: segregation within desegregated schools," pp. 126-162 in Christine H. Rossell and Willis D. Hawley (eds.) The Consequences of School Desegregation. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Eyler, Janet, Valerie Cook, Rachel Thompkins, William Trent, and Lelie E. Ward (1981) "Resegregation: Segregation within desegregated schools," pp. 210-329 in C.H. Rossell et al. (eds.) Assessment of Current Knowledge About the Effectiveness of School Desegregation Strategies. Nashville, TN: Institute of Public Policy Studies, Vanderbilt University.

Farley, Reynolds (1975) "Racial integration in the public schools, 1967 to 1972: Assessing the effects of governmental policies." Sociological Focus 8(January):3-26.

Feagin, Joe R. (1980) School Desegregation: A political-economic perspective," pp. 25-50 in W.G. Stephan and J.R. Feagin, School Desegregation: Past, Present and Future. New York: Plenum Press.

Fernandez, Ricardo R. and Judith T. Guskin (1981) "Hispanic students and school desegregation," pp.107-140 in Willis D. Hawley (ed.) Effective School Desegregation: Equity, Quality, and Feasibility. Beverly Hills, CA.:Sage.

Fitzgerald, Michael R., and David R. Morgan (1977) "Changing patterns of urban school desegregation." American Politics Quarterly, 5(October): 437-63.

Fraga, Luis Ricardo, Kenneth J. Meier, and Robert E. England (1986) "Hispanic Americans and educational policy: Limits to equal access." Journal of Politics, forthcoming.

Giles, Michael W. (1975) "Black concentration and school district size as predictors of school segregation: The impact of federal enforcement." Sociology of Education, 48(Fall): 11-19.

Giles, Michael W. and Arthur S. Evans (Forthcoming) The power approach to intergroup hostility." Journal of Conflict Resolution.

Giles, Michael W. and Arthur S. Evans (1985) "External threat, perceived threat, and group identity." Social Science Quarterly 66(March): 50-66.

Gottron, Martha V. (1979) "Equal rights," pp. 583-647 in Elder Witt (ed.) Congressional Quarterly's Guide to the U.S. Supreme Court. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly.

Harmel, Robert, Keith Hamm, and Robert Thompson (1983) "Black voting cohesion and distinctiveness in southern legislatures." Social Science Quarterly 64(March): 183-192.

Hawley, Willis D. (1981) "Equity and quality in education: Characteristics of effective desegregated schools," pp. 297-307 in Willis D. Hawley (ed.) Effective School Desegregation: Equity, Quality, and Feasibility. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hochschild, Jennifer L. (1984) The New American Dilemma: Liberal Democracy and School Desegregation. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Hughes, Larry W., William M. Gordon, and Larry W. Hillman (1980) Desegregating America's Schools. New York: Longman.

Jones, Reginald, L., ed. (1976) Mainstreaming and the Minority Child. Reston, VA: The Council for Exceptional Children.

Kaeser, Susan C. (1979) "Suspensions in school discipline." Education and Urban Sociology 11(August): 465-486.

Karnig, Albert K. (1979) "Black resources and city council representation." Journal of Politics 41(February): 134-149.

Karnig, Albert K. (1976) Black representation on city councils. Urban Affairs Quarterly, 12(December): 223-242.

Karnig, Albert K. and Susan Welch (1979) "Sex and ethnic differences in municipal representation." Social Science Quarterly 60(December): 465-481.

Kluger, Richard (1975) Simple Justice. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Kuklinski, J.H. (1979) Representative-constituency linkages: a review article. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 4(February): 121-40.

Levin, Betsy and Phillip Moise (1975) "Litigation in the seventies and the use of social science evidence: An annotated guide." Law and Contemporary Problems 39(Winter): 50-133.

Levin, Henry M. (1975) "Education, life chances, and the courts: The rule of social science evidence." Law and Contemporary Problems 39(Spring): 217-239.

McConahay, John B. (1981) "Reducing racial prejudice in desegregated schools," pp. 35-53 in Willis D. Hawley (ed.) Effective School Desegregation: Equity, Quality and Feasibility. Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage.

Meier, Kenneth J. and Robert E. England (1984) "Black representation and educational policy: Are they related?" American Political Science Review 78(June): 392-403.

Metz, Mary Haywood (1978) Classrooms and Corridors: The Crisis of Authority in Desegregated Secondary Schools. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.

Morgan, David R. and Robert E. England (1982) "Large district school desegregation: A preliminary assessment of techniques." Social Science Quarterly 63(December): 688-700.

Ogbu, John U. (1978) Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective. New York: Academic Press.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. (1971) Racially Separate or Together? New York: McGraw-Hill.

Pitkin, Hannah F. (1967) The Concept of Representation Berkeley: University of California Press.

Read, Frank T. (1977) "Judicial evolution of the law of school integration since Brown v. Board of Education," pp. 7-49 in Betsy Levin and Willis Hawley (eds.) The Courts, Social Science, and School Desegregation. New Brunswick, NJ.: Transaction Books.

Robinson, Theodore P. and Robert E. England (1981) "Black Representation on central city school boards revisited." Social Science Quarterly 62(September): 495-502.

Robinson, Theodore P. and Thomas R. Dye (1978) "Reformism and black representation on city councils." Social Science Quarterly 59:(June) 133-41.

Robinson, Theodore P., Robert E. England, and Kenneth J. Meier (1985) "Black resources and black school board representation: Does political structure matter?" Social Science Quarterly, 66(December): 976-982.

Rodgers, Harrell R. and Charles S. Bullock (1976) Coercion to Compliance. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Rodgers, Harrell R. and Charles S. Bullock (1972) Law and Social Change. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Rosenbaum, James E. (1976) Making Inequality: The Hidden Curriculum of High School Tracking. New York: John Wiley.

Ryan, W. (1976) Blaming the Victim. New York: Random House.

San Miguel, Guadalupe (1982) "Mexican American organizations and the changing politics of school desegregation in Texas, 1945-1980." Social Science Quaterly 63(December): 701-715.

Schafer, Walker E. and Carol Olexa (1971) Tracking and Opportunity: The Locking Out Process and Beyond. Scranton, PA: Chandler.

Sigelman, Lee and Albert K. Karnig (1977) "Black education and bureaucratic employment." Social Science Quarterly 57(March): 858-63.

Smith, Marzell and Charles D. Dziuban (1977) "The gap between desegregation research and remedy." Integrated Education 15(November-December): 51-55.

Taebel, Delbert (1978) "Minority representation on city councils." Social Science Quarterly 59(June): 142-52.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1976) Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Schools. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977) Statement on Metropolitan School Desegregation. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1979) Desegregation of the Nation's Public School; A Status Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Welch, Susan and J. R. Hibbing (1984) "Hispanic representation in the U.S. Congress." Social Science Quarterly 65(June): 328-335.

Welch, Susan and Albert K. Karnig (1978) "Representation of blacks on big city school boards." Social Science Quarterly 59(June): 162-172.

Williams, Junious (1979) In-School alternatives to suspensions: Why bother? pp.1-22 in Antoine M. Garibaldi (ed.) In-School Alternatives To Suspension: Conference Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Yudof, Mark G. (1981) "Implementing desegregation decrees," pp.245-262 in Willis D. Hawley (ed.) Effective School Desegregation: Equity, Quality, and Feasibility. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Yudof, Mark G. (1975) "Suspensions and expulsions of black students from the public schools." Law and Contemporary Problems 39(Spring): 374-411.

TABLE 1

DATA SUMMARY: 1968-1982 ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CIVIL RIGHTS SURVEY TIME SERIES DATA[a]

VARIABLES	VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	YEARS DATA AVAILABLE	VARIABLE CALCULATION
Ability Grouping Resegregation Indicators			
(1) Gifted/ Talented programs ratio	Proportion of white, black or Hispanic students in advanced classes divided by the proportaion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	4; 1976-1982	((Total white, black or Hispanic students in gifted or talented programs/total students in gifted or talented programs)/(percentage of white, black or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
(2) Educable mentally retarded (EMR) programs ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in EMR programs divided by the proportaion of white, black or Hispanic students in the school district	6; 1973-1982	((Total white, black or Hispanic students in EMR programs/total students in EMR programs)/percentage of white, black or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
(3) Trainable mentally retarted (TMR) programs ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in TMR programs divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	6; 1973-1982	((Total white, black or Hispanic students in TMR programs/total students in TMR programs)/percentage of white, black or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
(4) Specific learning disabled (SLD) progrmas ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in SLD programs divided by the proportaion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	5; 1974-1982	((Total white, black or Hispanic students in SLD programs/total students in SLD programs)/percentage of white, black or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100

TABLE 1 (continued)

(5) Seriously emotionally disturbed (SED) programs ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in SED programs divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	4; 1976-1982	((Total white, black or Hispanic students in SED programs/total students in SED programs)/percentage of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
Discipline Resegregation Indicators			
(6) Corporal punishment ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students receiving corporal punishment divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	4; 1976-1982	((Total white, black, or Hispanic students receiving corporal punishment/total students receiving corporal punishment)/percentage of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
(7) Suspension ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students suspended from school divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	6; 1973-1982	((Total white, black, or Hispanic student suspended/total students suspended)/percentage of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
(8) Expulsion ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students expelled from school divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	7; 1971-1980	((Total white, black, or Hispanic students expelled/total students expelled)/percentage of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
"Life Chances" Resegregation Indicators			
(9) High School Graduates Ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students graduating from high school divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	4; 1976-1982	((Total white, black, or Hispanic students receiving high school diploma/total students receiving diploma)/percentage of white, black or Hispanic students in school district) x 100

TABLE 1 (continued)

(10) Drop Out Ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students who dropped out of school divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	1; 1976	((Total white, black, or Hispanic drop out students/total students who dropped out)/percentage of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100
"Representative Bureaucracy" Resegregation Indicator			
(11) Professional Staff Ratio	Proportion of white, black, or Hispanic professional staff members in school district divided by the proportion of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district	5; 1968-1972	((Total white, black, or Hispanic professional staff members in the school district/total professional staff members)/percentage of white, black, or Hispanic students in the school district) x 100

NOTES: a. The data was obtained from the Office for Civil Rights. The time series data cover eleven time points, 1968-1982. Between 1968 and 1973 annual surveys were conducted, six time points. Starting in 1974 OCR school surveys were conducted bienially, five time points.

FIGURE 1

HEURISTIC MODEL OF FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOL RESEGREGATION

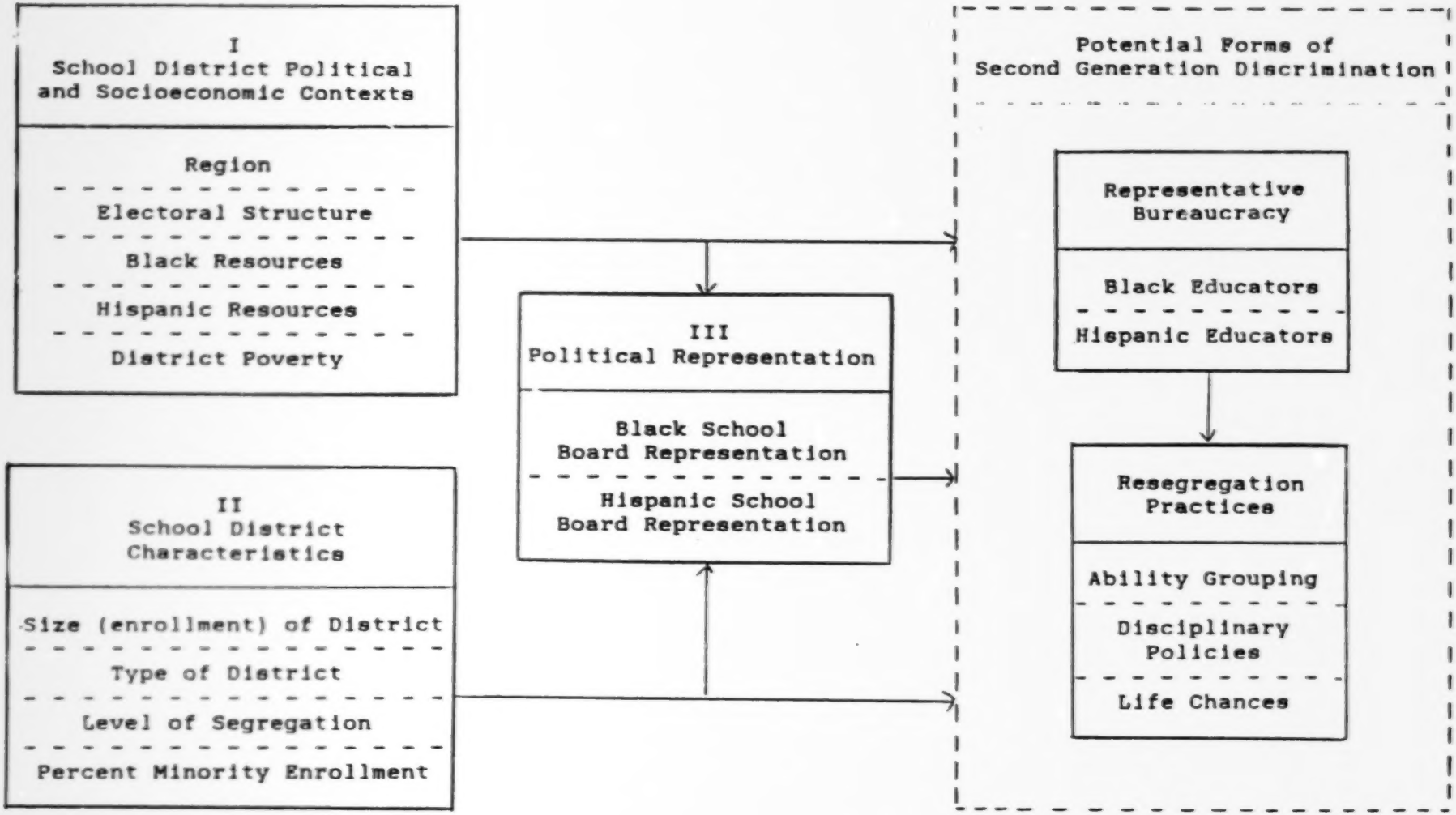

TABLE 2

Principal Independent Variables Employed In Study, Indicator(s) and Data Source

Variable	Indicator	Data Source
School District Political and Socioeconomic Contexts		
Region (0/1)[a]	0=Nonsouth 1=South[b]	County-City Databook, 1983
Electoral Structure (0/1)	0=Mixed, ward, or appointive, 1=At-large	Superintendent of Schools Survey
Black Resources[a]	School district black/white median education ratio School district black/white median income ratio	1980 Housing and Population Survey, File STF-3
Hispanic Resources[c]	School district Hispanic/white median education ratio, School district Hispanic/white median income ratio	1980 Housing and Population Survey, File STF-3
District Poverty	Percent of families below poverty level in school district	1980 Housing and Population Survey, File STF-3
School District Characteristics		
Size of District	Total student enrollment	Office of Civil Rights Dataset
Type of District (0/1)	0=Noncountywide, 1=Countywide	Office of Civil Rights Dataset
Level of Segregation	Dissimilarity Index Scores	Office of Civil Rights Dataset
Minority Students	Percent	Office of Civil Rights Dataset

Political Representation		
Black School Board Representation[a]	Percent of Seats Held by blacks	Superintendent of Schools Survey
Hispanic School Board Representation[c]	Percent of Seats Held by Hispanics	Superintendent of Schools Survey

a. Only used in regression analyses of black school district sample.

b. South includes the District of Columbia, the 11 states of the Confederacy, and six border states (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia) that had laws requiring separate school systems at the time of the 1954 Brown decision.

c. Only used in regression analyses of Hispanic school district sample.

TABLE 3

Proposed Relationships of Variable Employed in Study

Variables	Proposed Relationship to: Black/Hispanic School Board Representation	To the Incidence of Resegregation
Exogenous Variables		
Southern Region	(-)	(+)
At-large elections	(-)	No direct impact, only through representation
Black/Hispanic Resources		
A. Education Ratio	(+)	(-)
B. Income Ratio	(+)	(-)
District Poverty	(-)	(-)
Size of District	(+)	(+)
Countywide District	No hypothesized relationship	(+)
Level of segregation	(-)	(-)
% Minority	(+)	(+)
	More "Representative" Bureaucracy	To The Incidence of Resegregation
Endogenous Variables		
Minority School Board Representation	(+)	(-)
Representative Bureaucracy	NA	(-)